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LITERATURE AS A NECESSITY OF LIFE.

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THE ROLE OF LITERATURE HAS CHANGED AND TODAY, FOR THE FIRST TIME, GREAT LITERATURE HAS TO MAKE A CLAIM FOR ITSELF. FOR MANY STUDENTS BEGINNING COLLEGE, LITERATURE HAS NOT BEEN AN IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR LIVES. THEY SHOULD BE TOLD WHAT IT IS AND BE INTRODUCED TO MANY BOOKS, ESPECIALLY CONTEMPORARY ONES, WHICH PEOPLE USED TO READ FOR THEMSELVES. ALTHOUGH ENGLISH DEPARTMENTS NOW EXIST, PROFESSIONAL CONCERN WITH LITERATURE IS NO GUARANTEE OF MORAL IMAGINATION OR UNUSUAL INTELLIGENCE. THE MAJOR QUESTION IS HOW A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CAN FIND SELF-EVIDENT A TRADITION FOUNDED ON THE INSIGHTS OF A SELECT FEW. NOR CAN THE GREAT TRADITION BE SELF-EVIDENT TO STUDENTS WHOSE EDUCATION OFTEN HAS BEEN UTILITARIAN AND WHOSE TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE DIMINISH THE INTELLECTUAL AUTHORITY OF RELIGION. EFFORTS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE LITERARY TRADITION HAVE BEEN MADE BY T.S. ELIOT AND OTHERS, AND TODAY, DESPITE THE EMPHASIS ON THE CONCEPTUAL, ABSTRACT, AND MANIPULATIVE, MUCH CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE EXPRESSES THE SPIRIT AND PARADOX OF MAN'S CONDITION. THIS ARTICLE APPEARED IN "THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW," SECTION 7, JULY 30, 1967, PAGES 3-4, 30. (BN)

Literature as a Necessity of Life

By ALFRED KAZIN

EVERY now and then I meet people — they tend to be physicists, psychiatrists, theologians — who are well read in English and European literature, well read in a thoroughly cultivated, old-fashioned way, who have managed this steadily from childhood while perfecting special knowledge of a wholly different field. These people don't know what it means to major in English, for they have grown up with literature as one of the many traditions that people used to grow up with.

Universities, too, used to be this old-fashioned. Until well into the 19th century, there was no special chair for English literature at Oxford or Cambridge. Literature was classical literature, the great tradition of Greece and Rome which was supposed to have descended from the great tragedians, poets, moralists, rhetoricians and sages,

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right down to the latest British Prime Minister — Gladstone still translated Homer and could still put down a critic in Parliament with a quotation from Horace. There was a tradition — classical, Christian, humanist, aristocratic — that embodied the *humanitas* of Christian Europe as against those outsiders from Asia whom the Greeks had called barbarians.

This tradition was founded on the metaphysics of Plato, on the truth of Christian revelation, on the Renaissance code of the gentleman, on theology as the queen of the sciences. In the days when science was still called natural philosophy, the proper study of man was man, which meant moral philosophy — questions of value that depended on the right interpretation, in some immediate human context, of the great tradition. Because there was a great tradition, literature in the universities meant the preservation and transmission of classical literature — and this included classical politics, history, philosophy and ethics as well as tragedy, epic and lyric.

There was no need for courses in Shakespeare when Shakespeare, whose religious views were ambiguous anyway, could be read for oneself, seen in the playhouse, enjoyed in private precisely because he was so much more robust and bawdy than Cicero. Like the contemporary physicist or psychiatrist who reads great novels for pleasure, 19th-century statesmen, bishops, scientists, and political revolutionaries found the great books simply necessary. Maxim Gorky says that in 1919, amid the frightful cold and hunger of war Communism, he found Lenin in the Kremlin reading "War and Peace." One remembers the devotion of Marx to Balzac, of Freud to Dostoevsky, as one remembers John Quincy Adams translating German Romantic poems, Lincoln shakily quoting from "Macbeth" when he had a vision of his end. Even General de Gaulle, whose family sponsors a Victorianism of official taste that is one of the many reversals that the French have had to bear, wittily quoted Villon when one of his ministers spoke of censoring Sartre.

There are still people, there used to be many more such people, to whom literature is familiar and necessary, a personal tradition in the van of a still greater tradition. To these people, literature, among other virtues, embodies the great past; it is the storybook of human experience; through its past move forever, as in the other-world of Dante, the great heroes, thinkers, sages, saints and villains.

Recall how absurd the teaching of one's own literature once seemed to the best literary scholars, to cultivated people generally. Compare that confidence with the extraordinary effort and concern that we now put into the teaching of modern literature, American literature, contemporary literature, freshman composition, public speaking, remedial reading, elementary grammar. Put into the picture, too, the extraordinary number of people, extremely intelligent, highly competent, perfectly civil and humane, to whom great literature means absolutely nothing, who manage to get along without Shakespeare and Tolstoy. When Napoleon asked Pierre Laplace how God figured in his theory of the universe, the great astronomer replied that he had no need of that hypothesis. There are now many intelligent people, active in the professions and sciences, who have no need of imaginative literature.

Not for them the raptures of Lenin

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fore "War and Peace," the emotion Lincoln displayed at a single speech from "Macbeth," the shudder we have that Goethe thought man's deepest experience and that Robert Oppenheimer felt one morning in 1944, in the New Mexican desert, when he saw the first atom bomb explode. So far as the world's rulers, everywhere, are concerned, Shakespeare was Bacon and Bacon Shakespeare.

There was a time in the early twenties when young Communists in Russia gave up smoking so that Tolstoy could be printed on cigarette paper, but when Andrey Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel were sentenced to hard labor for the crime of sending their honest stories and essays where they could be published, most Russians, it is safe to say, were as unconcerned as most Americans are unconcerned when the poet Robert Lowell declines an invitation to read at the White House as his way of protesting our part in Vietnam.

Literature, which used to be the queen of the arts, is, so far as many people now are concerned, simply a spot where the world's wisdom and experience, and above all its future, are felt to lie.

Yet English departments, that modern invention, seem to get bigger and busier all the time, to take in more and more periods, approaches, writers, and even writers-as-teachers. How misleading all laments over the past can be. The past is so much our business that it cannot help obstructing our view of our own situation. This is in point of fact the most revolutionary era in recorded history, the most thoroughgoing transformation of established habits of living and thinking that has ever been known. It is not possible, it is not meaningful, that the measure that certain aristocratic politicians in England took in Homer twenty years ago should be a criticism of the overpoweringly dynamic society and fiercely democratic aspirations by which many of us live.

On the days when Gladstone translated Homer for his own pleasure, a great portion of the British common people lived in squalor and ignorance, and children could still be hanged for petty thievery. In 19th-century Russia, the sum total of oppression and misery was in such contrast to the imaginative achievements of a few aristocrats who wrote novels that the greatest talent and most powerful conscience among these aristocrats, Tolstoy, could not bear the disparity and tried as desperately as any saint ever did to convert men to charity by the force of his own example. One needn't, perhaps, go as far as that marvelously gifted writer, Jean-Paul Sartre, who says that literature is insignificant now, so long as it does not feed the hunger and humiliate by millions of people

in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But the greatest moral fact of our time is our awareness that everybody counts, that life could surely be better for millions of people whose existence did not matter to the rest of us just twenty years ago.

By contrast with so much remedial social suffering, the culture offered by literature can be very superficial indeed. If we ask the vital question of what literature does for us, how it changes us, how it uplifts and sustains and unites us, what is the use of so much reading, how it advances us in knowledge and sympathy and moral consciousness — such claims for literature were made by Shelley and Keats and Matthew Arnold with the highest confidence — then we have to say, thinking of all too many examples, that literature is often no use to those who know it most intimately and who know most about it.

Many a German professor who was moved by the perfection of a Rilke sonnet had no feeling for the many so-called inferior beings whom his countrymen slaughtered in their racial pride. It is my experience of people skilled in literature, either as writers or scholars, that professional concern with literature is by no means a guarantee of unusual intelligence or moral imagination; literature for them is professional, a skill as technical and self-sufficient as any other — especially for those who possess this skill.

Yet no matter how much one insists on the autonomy of literature, one knows that this is only a half-truth, the truth about literature seen from the side of the creator or the specialist, not from the broad response to literature made by human experience through the ages. For when we ask why there have always been scientists to whom literature is of the highest importance, why Darwin found his consolation in good novels, why so many of the world's greatest thinkers have felt, as Freud did about Dostoevsky, that before literary genius analysis lays down its arms, we recognize that, until our day, great literature never had to make any claim for itself.

To all educated people, which meant people with a sense of history, literature was the word, the sacred word of all great tradition — religious, philosophic, moral and scientific. Great literature was mimesis and poesis — it was the image of life, the image of human action and, as Coleridge said, of the soul in activity. It was the making of a thing of beauty, evident and sufficient unto itself, that afforded man, in his fullest esthetic capacity, a sense of sublimity, of elevation, of the highest truth captured in the greatest possible enjoyment. Matthew Arnold, on his journeys as a school inspector, would read over to himself in his pocket diary, as from

a breviary, the famous quotations he had collected from Homer and Sophocles and Dante — perfectly sure that we needs must know the best that has been thought and said in the world.

Arnold was just as aware as we are today that science was progressing by leaps and bounds, where literature, it may be said, has no need to progress, for it is concerned with the permanent elements in human nature, with what Faulkner at Stockholm was to call "the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself . . . the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed — love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice . . ." But Arnold still believed that Europe represented a great humanist tradition, that even when supernaturalism succumbed to skepticism, the memory of Europe's tradition, embodied in its greatest works of literature, would serve as a consolation, a mediator of the many single facts being discovered by science. The thoughtful individual would always possess literature as his key to the great tradition. Arnold called his quotations touchstones.

The great tradition no longer exists. It is because the greatest experience of all contemporaries, more than the anguished cries for social justice of the oppressed, is some sense of absurdity involved in the almost complete de-sacralizing of all intellectual activity, that our students now turn so eagerly to humanities and great books courses, to those 19th-century novels that people used to read for themselves. It is because literature is not part of their tradition, had not entered into their lives before they came to college, that our students have to

old what literature is and why literature is great.

is because the question of ques-
— what is our destiny, how
shall think of our own death —
never been more open than it
w that our students encounter
astonishment, with rapture,
unconscious gratitude, and who
s with how much unconscious
tment, the dialectic of Plato,
sublime certainty of Moses and
the vision of Dante, the Heav-
and Hell of Milton, the torrents
language in Shakespeare, the pen-
on of Pascal, the irony of Jane
en, the revolutionary passion of
e. Intellectually and spiritually,
students do not know that the
el has been invented, and try to
t themselves. That is how de-
d they are — and how clever.

et everyone of good sense rec-
izes that culture in the old sense,
culture founded on literature, ex-
ved the limited aspiration of a
small group of people. Hence
teacher of literature in America,
ng to the brightest but most
believing generation that ever
has to introduce his students
Satan, Jonah, Elijah, Agamem-
Aeneas, Ulysses, Falstaff, even
leberry Finn; and sometimes,
ager are we now to try *anything*
will get students to recognize
share of common humanity, to
en Caulfield, Seymour Glass and
salesman who had a death in
ur Miller. . . .

the face of this extraordinary
rance and this extraordinary ea-
ess, of so much carrot and so
e stick, so many moral bribes
cajolings, one can, of course,
k loftily about inadequate train-
at home and the dangers of
e education. But speaking as
eone whose own culture is en-

tirely literary-historical, I would ask:
how can our democratic society find
self-evident the great tradition found-
ed on the exquisite perceptions of
a few? And, above all, how is it
possible, at a time when every cru-
cial social, intellectual and political
experience diminishes the intellec-
tual authority of religion, to sup-
pose that the great tradition is self-
evident to students who know only
too well how utilitarian their edu-
cation must be, and who are being
pushed and harried so that they will
not be left behind in the terrible
race for their own and the national
advantage?

This is where modern literature
comes into our curriculum — and
literary criticism as a way of ar-
ticulating values. There was a time
when teachers limited English lit-
erature to dead authors: the limits
of investigation for scholars were
vaguely fixed at 1914, when all late
Victorians conveniently expired. The
assumption, then, was that behind
the steady and logical development
of English literature ran one increas-
ing purpose; contemporary literature,
which one read for oneself, would
no doubt some day be added to
this tradition.

But the particular mark of the
greatest modern literature is that it
sees man as unaided—"a stranger
and afraid," said A. E. Housman
"in a world I never made" — face
to face with what Conrad in "Heart
of Darkness" called "the horror,"
and in "Lord Jim," the "destructive
element." The great thing about
modern literature — one sees its
beginnings at the end of the 18th
century, that seedtime of revolu-
tions — is the attempt to put man
himself, his real self, his creative
nature, squarely into his imagina-
tive picture (Continued on Page 30)

(Continued from Page 5)

of the world—to have him con-
front his destiny, unaided and
even defenseless as he is, and
so give his culture, which he
alone makes, the strength now
exerted by his fear of death.

People who are easily dis-
mayed by change, who do not
see man in a long enough per-
spective, often think of modern
and contemporary literature as
nihilistic. But there are always
fewer nihilists around than one
thinks, and in literature they
are especially rare; it requires
an original mind, like Nietz-
sche's, even to conceive of a
fundamental heresy in man's
spiritual orientation. The great
20th-century writers, like T. S.
Eliot, who naturally began their
careers by trying new forms,
now seem to us, as thinkers,
wholly traditional. But what no
one who knows Eliot's poetry
and criticism can miss is the ex-
traordinary effort that this man
put into re-establishing the lit-
erary tradition and the moral
insights of the church when the
unity of the continent and the
integrity of the past had been
destroyed in man's minds by
the horrors of 1914-18.

So in our day, remembering
the thirty million dead of the
Second World War, the savage
despotism that now rules more
than half the world, the power-
lessness and the increasing
sense of nemesis about the
Third World War that sensi-
tive people must feel about the
drift of affairs in our own coun-
try, one looks to the works of
Robert Graves, Evelyn Waugh,
E. M. Forster, William Faulk-
ner, Ernest Hemingway, John
Osborne, J. D. Salinger, Robert
Lowell, James Baldwin, Edmund
Wilson—as to the work of Al-
bert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre,
Colette, François Mauriac, Boris
Pasternak—to find again the
defense of man, man in the full
integrity of his personal ex-
perience and his complex hu-
man nature, man who creates
reality as much as he perceives
it.

Everything in our society just

now emphasizes the conceptual,
abstract, manipulative and even
anxious side of man. But only
in modern literature, in the
courageous novels and stories,
plays and essays of all our con-
temporaries in spirit, is justice
done to what is not, after all,
always mediatable by reason—
to what is unknown perhaps
because it is unknowable and
even irrational—to that which
belongs to man's dream life, to
his inner life, to the buried life,
as Matthew Arnold called it,
he possesses in imagination—

*But often, in the world's most
crowded streets,
But often, in the din of strife,
There rises an unspeakable de-
sire*

*After the knowledge of our
buried life;
A thirst to spend our fire and
restless force*

*In tracking out our true, orig-
inal course;*

*A longing to inquire
Into the mystery of this heart
which beats*

*So wild, so deep in us—to
know*

*Whence our lives come and
where they go.*

*And many a man in his own
breast then delves,*

*But deep enough, alas! none
ever mines.*

*And we have been on many
thousand lines,*

*And we have shown, on each
spirit and power;*

*But hardly have we, for one
little hour,*

*Been on our own line, have
we been ourselves—*

Only in literature can man
express the full paradox of his
condition, the urgency of his
private symbols—and above all
else, the directness, the unique-
ness, the concreteness of his
being man, this man, and no
any one else. As against the
many empty claims to knowl-
edge that fill the air, the poet
can say, with E. E. Cummings—
*when skies are hanged and
oceans drowned,
the single secret still will be
man.*